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No. 8

Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Friday, January 15, 2021, at 10 a.m.

House of Representatives

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 13, 2021

The House met at 9 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. BROWN).

DESIGNATION OF THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, DC,
January 13, 2021.

I hereby appoint the Honorable ANTHONY G. BROWN to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

NANCY PELOSI,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Reverend Margaret Grun Kibben, offered the following prayer:

God, our judge, nothing is hidden from Your sight. Thus, we stand before You to give account for our role in today's momentous decisions. In our deepest desire to carry out our responsibilities to govern, protect, and preserve this Nation, while yet unsettled by the events of this past week, we find ourselves seizing the scales of justice from the jaws of mobocracy.

Almighty God, wield Your sword and penetrate the confusion and discontent of our country. Lay bare our attitudes of vengeance that You would show us how to serve as instruments of Your pure judgment and peace. Divide our rhetoric from the light of Your truth. Judge our partisan thoughts and convict us to attend to the common good.

We have taken our obligations freely, but we remain beholden to Your guidance. Hold us, then, accountable to Your powerful Word.

In the strength of Your holy name, we pray.
Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 5(a)(1)(A) of House Resolution 8, the Journal of the last day's proceedings is approved.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. McGOVERN) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. McGOVERN led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess for a period of less than 15 minutes.

Accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 2 minutes a.m.), the House stood in recess.

□ 0916

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro

tempore (Mr. BROWN) at 9 o'clock and 16 minutes a.m.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H. RES. 24, IMPEACHING DONALD JOHN TRUMP, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR HIGH CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 41 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 41

Resolved, That upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order without intervention of any point of order to consider in the House the resolution (H. Res. 24) impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the resolution and on any amendment thereto to adoption without intervening motion or demand for division of the question except two hours of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary or their respective designees.

SEC. 2. Until completion of proceedings enabled by the first section of this resolution—
(a) the Chair may decline to entertain any intervening motion, resolution, question, or notice; and
(b) the Chair may decline to entertain the question of consideration.

SEC. 3. Upon adoption of House Resolution 24—

(a) House Resolution 40 is hereby adopted; and

(b) no other resolution incidental to impeachment relating to House Resolution 24

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.



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shall be privileged during the remainder of the One Hundred Seventeenth Congress.

SEC. 4. Section 5 of House Resolution 8, agreed to January 4, 2021, is amended by striking “January 28” each place that it appears and inserting “February 11”.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. COLE), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members be given 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, the Rules Committee met and reported a closed rule, House Resolution 41, providing for consideration of H. Res. 24, impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

The rule provides 2 hours of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking member of the Committee on the Judiciary. The rule also provides that upon adoption of H. Res. 24, H. Res. 40 is hereby adopted.

Finally, the rule extends recess instructions, suspension authority, and same-day authority through February 11, 2021.

Mr. Speaker, we are debating this historic measure at an actual crime scene, and we wouldn't be here if it weren't for the President of the United States.

On Wednesday, January 6, Congress gathered here to fulfill our constitutional duty, tallying the electoral college victory of President-elect Biden and Vice-President-elect HARRIS after a free and fair election.

This is largely a ceremonial role for the Congress, one that sends the message to the world that democracy in the United States persists. But at a rally just a mile and a half down Pennsylvania Avenue, Donald Trump and his allies were stoking the anger of a violent mob.

A Member of this very body proclaimed on that stage: “Today is the day American patriots start taking down names and kicking ass.”

Trump's personal attorney, Rudy Giuliani, called for a “trial by combat.”

Then Donald Trump told the crowd: “We are going to have to fight much harder . . . you will never take back our country with weakness.”

Even though, according to his own administration that this election was the most secure in our history, Donald Trump repeated his big lie that this

election was an egregious assault on democracy.

He said Vice President PENCE “was going to have to come through for us.”

Trump then told this mob to “walk down to the Capitol.”

The signal was unmistakable: These thugs should stage a coup so Donald Trump can hang on to power. The people's will be damned.

This beacon of democracy became the site of a vicious attack. Rioters chanted, “Hang Mike Pence,” as noose and gallows were built a stone's throw from the Capitol steps. Capitol police officers were beaten and sprayed with pepper spray. Attackers hunted down lawmakers to hold them hostage or worse. Staff barricaded doors. People sent text messages to their families to tell them they loved them. They thought they were saying good-bye, Mr. Speaker.

This was not a protest. This was an insurrection. This was a well-organized attack on our country that was incited by Donald Trump.

Domestic terrorists broke into the United States Capitol that day and it is a miracle more people didn't die. As my colleagues and I were being evacuated to safety, I never ever will forget what I saw when I looked into the eyes of those attackers right in the Speaker's lobby there. I saw evil, Mr. Speaker. Our country came under attack not from a foreign nation, but from within.

These were not protesters. These were not patriots. These were traitors. These were domestic terrorists, Mr. Speaker, and they were acting under the orders of Donald Trump.

Some of my colleagues on the other side have suggested that we just move on from this horror. But to gloss over it would be an abdication of our duty. Others on the Republican side have talked about unity. But we can't have unity without truth and without accountability. And I am not about to be lectured by people who just voted to overturn the results of a free and fair election.

America was attacked and we must respond, even when the cause of this violence resides at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Each of us took an oath last week. It wasn't to a party and it wasn't to a person. We vowed to defend the Constitution. The actions of Donald Trump have called each of us to fulfill that oath today. I pray that we rise to this responsibility because every moment Donald Trump is in the White House, our Nation and our freedom is in danger. He must be held to account for the attack on our Capitol that he organized and he incited.

I solemnly urge my colleagues to support this rule and the underlying article. The damage this building sustained can be repaired, Mr. Speaker; but if we don't hold Donald Trump accountable, the damage done to our Nation could be irreversible.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, before I begin my formal remarks, I want to ask for God's blessing and protection on you; on my friend, Mr. MCGOVERN; for all who come to this Chamber today to speak and to vote; for our wonderful staff that make this possible; and most especially for the men and women of the Capitol Police and the other affiliated law enforcement agencies that are here to protect everybody and to make sure that this proceeding can go forward.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Massachusetts, my very good friend, the distinguished chairman of the Rules Committee, Mr. MCGOVERN, for yielding me the customary 30 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, today is a sad day for all of us, for me personally, for the Rules Committee, for the entire House of Representatives, and most certainly for the American people.

For the second time in 13 months, we are meeting to discuss the impeachment of the President of the United States. Our meeting today does not arise in a vacuum and comes at what I hope and pray is the end of a tumultuous period for our country.

Less than 1 week ago, Congress met to certify the results of the 2020 Presidential election. What started out as peaceful protests, turned into a riot as an untold number of individuals stormed the Capitol Building. Six people died as a result of this mob. It is only by the grace of God and the brave acts of the U.S. Capitol Police; the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police; the FBI; the ATF; and other responding agencies that there was not more bloodshed.

Violent acts such as these have no place in our Republic. These shocking and sobering events rest high on our minds today, as well they should. Certainly, January 6, 2021, will live in my memory as the darkest day during my time in service as a Member of this House.

After these grave events, we, as a nation and as an institution, have an opportunity to come together. President Trump has conceded the 2020 election. Congress has certified the results of the election, and next Wednesday, President-elect Biden will be sworn in as the President of the United States.

Congress and the Nation can move forward knowing that the political process was completed as designed and that the constitutional framework that has governed our Republic since 1789 held firm. But instead of moving forward as a unifying force, majority in the House is choosing to divide us further.

With only 1 week to go in his term, the majority is asking us to consider a resolution impeaching President Trump, and they do so knowing full well that even if the House passes this resolution, the Senate will not be able to begin considering these charges until after President Trump's term ends.

Mr. Speaker, I can think of no action the House can take that is more likely than the action we are contemplating today. Emotions are clearly running high and political divisions have never been more apparent in my lifetime.

We desperately need to seek a path forward, healing for the American people. So it is unfortunate that a path to support healing is not the path the majority has chosen today. Instead, the House is moving forward erratically with a truncated process that does not comport with the modern practice and that will give Members no time to contemplate the serious course of action before us.

In every modern impeachment inquiry, an investigation and committee action has preceded bringing an impeachment resolution to the floor. In part, this is to ensure that members have the full facts, the opportunity to engage expert witnesses, and have a chance to be heard. It also provides due process to the President of the United States. Again, in every modern impeachment inquiry, the President has been given an opportunity to be heard in some form or another.

This is necessary in order to ensure that the American people have confidence in the procedures the House is following. It is also necessary, not because of the President's inappropriate and reckless words are deserving of defense, but because the Presidency itself demands due process in the impeachment proceedings.

Unfortunately, the majority has chosen to race to the floor with a new Article of Impeachment, forgoing any investigation, any committee process or any chance for Members to fully contemplate this course of action before proceeding.

Professor Jonathan Turley is correct when he called this "a dangerous snap impeachment—an impeachment that effectively would go to a vote without the deliberation or inquiries of a traditional hearing."

Professor Turley also noted that "the damage caused by the rioters this week was enormous. However, it will pale in comparison to the damage from a new precedent of a snap impeachment. . . ."

Mr. Speaker, if the majority is seeking consensus, this is hardly the way to create it.

□ 0930

The majority is failing to provide the House with an opportunity to review all the facts—which are still coming to light—to discuss all the evidence, to listen to scholars, to examine the witnesses, and to consider precedence. This is not the type of robust process we have followed for every modern impeachment, and the failure to do so does a great disservice to this institution and to this country.

Mr. Speaker, I could think of nothing that will cause further division more than the path the majority is now taking. Rather than looking ahead to a

new administration, the majority is again seeking to settle scores against the old one. Rather than seeking to heal America, they are seeking to divide us more deeply, and rather than following the appropriate processes the House has used in every modern impeachment, the majority is rushing to the floor, tripping all over themselves in their rush to impeach the President a second time.

What is worse, though, is the majority seems to believe this course of action is self-evident, and that is simply not the case. I have to tell them: it is not. Members have reviewed the same conduct and have come to dramatically different conclusions. Legal scholars like Professor Turley and Professor Alan Dershowitz, both of whom condemn the President's statements, believe that his statements are not impeachable. I know other scholars have different points of view.

Given this difference of opinion, shouldn't we have a better process than this?

Shouldn't we have a chance to examine witnesses, discuss the matter with legal scholars, and consider this in committee?

On a matter as grave and consequential as impeachment, shouldn't we follow the same process we have used in every modern impeachment rather than rushing to the floor?

On behalf of generations of Americans to come, we need to think more clearly about the consequences of our actions today. The fact of the matter is, Mr. Speaker, there is no reason to rush forward like this, other than the very obvious fact that there are only 7 days left until the new President takes office. But what is worse, as Professor Dershowitz has pointed out, because of the Senate's rules, the case cannot come to trial in the Senate until 1 p.m. on January 20, 1 hour after President Trump leaves office.

This is an ill-advised course, in my opinion, Mr. Speaker. Even Senator JOE MANCHIN, a Democrat, agrees. Senator MANCHIN is quoted this week as having said, "I think this is so ill-advised for Joe Biden to be coming in, trying to heal the country, trying to be the President of all the people when we are going to be so divided and fighting again. Let the judicial system do its job."

So what, then, is the point of the rush to impeach?

We are coming off a horrific event that resulted in six deaths. We have an opportunity to move forward, but we cannot if the majority insists on bringing the country through the trauma of another impeachment. It will carry forward into the next President's term ensuring that he will struggle to organize his administration. What is worse, it will continue to generate the bitterness so many of us have opposed.

Why put us through that when we can't actually resolve this before the end of the President's term?

Mr. Speaker, I think my colleagues in the majority need to think about

this more soberly. We need to recognize we are following a flawed process. We need to recognize that people of goodwill can differ. We need to recognize that, while the House may be done with this matter after today's vote, it will not be done for the country. It will not be done for the Senate, and it will not be done for the incoming Biden administration. The House's action today will only extend the division longer than necessary.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I would note that there are other remedies that can be pursued. The President is expected to face litigation over his role in last Wednesday's events. There will be criminal proceedings against the perpetrators, and I hope all of those who stormed the Capitol will be brought to justice. And some Members have proposed an alternative procedure—censuring the President—which could garner significant bipartisan support in the House.

I do not think impeachment is a wise course, Mr. Speaker. I would urge my friends in the majority to reconsider. There is still time to choose a different path, one that leads to reconciliation and hope for better and brighter days.

Mr. Speaker, I urge opposition to the rule, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the powerful statement by Congresswoman LIZ CHENEY, who is the chair of the House Republican Conference, titled "I will vote to impeach the President."

CHENEY: I WILL VOTE TO IMPEACH THE PRESIDENT

January 12, 2021.

WASHINGTON—Wyoming Congresswoman and House Republican Conference Chair Liz Cheney (R-WY) released the following statement ahead of votes in the House this week:

"On January 6, 2021 a violent mob attacked the United States Capitol to obstruct the process of our democracy and stop the counting of presidential electoral votes. This insurrection caused injury, death and destruction in the most sacred space in our Republic.

"Much more will become clear in coming days and weeks, but what we know now is enough. The President of the United States summoned this mob, assembled the mob, and lit the flame of this attack. Everything that followed was his doing. None of this would have happened without the President. The President could have immediately and forcefully intervened to stop the violence. He did not. There has never been a greater betrayal by a President of the United States of his office and his oath to the Constitution.

"I will vote to impeach the President."

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I want to be clear about just one thing: If we vote to impeach the President today and we send it over to the Senate, there is nothing to prevent the Senate from taking it up immediately if Senate Majority Leader MITCH MCCONNELL decides that he wants to proceed, number one.

Number two, we all want to talk about unity. I can't think of anything

that would unify this country more than if there was a big bipartisan vote in favor of impeachment. Every second that this President remains in office is a danger to this country and to the world. We have no idea what he is capable of doing, whether he will pardon these terrorists or whether he will go to war.

So I urge all my colleagues on both sides to support this rule and the impeachment resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. CHU).

Ms. CHU. Mr. Speaker, last week, I hid in an office for hours, terrified to open the door because I did not know if a rioter was on the other side ready to attack, kidnap, or murder me. But my experiences were just the tip of the iceberg. The U.S. Capitol was targeted, besieged, and ransacked on January 6 by a murderous mob holding a noose for Vice President PENCE and targeting Speaker PELOSI. Their rampage resulted in destruction and five people dead.

We were attacked by terrorists, but this time the terrorists were radicalized right here in the United States. Worse, they were radicalized by the President, who intentionally lied to his supporters that the election was stolen and then told them when to come to D.C., where to protest, and whom to direct their anger at.

The need to remove this President could not be more urgent. He is too dangerous to remain in office. Donald Trump must be held accountable. He must be impeached.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, if we defeat the previous question, I will offer an amendment to the rule to immediately bring up a resolution establishing a bipartisan national commission on the domestic terrorist attack on the United States Capitol. This proposed bipartisan commission will be tasked with examining and reporting upon the terror attack upon our Capitol that occurred last Wednesday. The commission will be bipartisan in nature, modeled after the 9/11 Commission, and will fully be empowered to undertake a full investigation and make recommendations to the President and to Congress.

I can think of no more appropriate path for Congress to follow than by ensuring a bipartisan commission reviews all evidence and reports back to us on this horrific event.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert the text of my amendment in the RECORD, along with extraneous material, immediately prior to the vote on the previous question.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I urge a "no" vote on the previous question.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. RODNEY

DAVIS), who is the ranking Republican member on the House Administration Committee, for a further explanation of this amendment.

Mr. RODNEY DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I first want to thank the U.S. Police and the Sergeant at Arms employees who were here on the front lines protecting this Capitol last week during the unprecedented attack. It is imperative that we focus on ensuring a safe Inauguration Day, protecting Members and staff during this time of increased threats, and making sure that our Capitol Police officers have the support that they need. We need to ensure that what we saw happen a week ago today never happens again.

Yesterday, I introduced, along with Representatives KATKO and COMER, a bill that would create a national commission on the domestic terrorist attack upon the United States Capitol. The bipartisan commission would consist of 10 Members—5 Republicans, 5 Democrats—appointed by the next President and by House and Senate leadership. This commission would be tasked with investigating the domestic terrorist attack that occurred in this building just a week ago, and it will provide us recommendations to prevent similar attacks from happening in the future.

What we saw last week scared all of us who were here. But it also showed adversaries what it takes to take out a branch of government.

When this commission is done with its investigation, it will submit a report to the President and the Congress detailing its findings and recommendations to ensure that no foreign or domestic adversary could accomplish what was done on January 6. We need to ensure that we fully understand what took place last week and any and all issues that occurred during our response.

Republicans and Democrats need to work together. We must unite to prevent any attacks like this from happening in the future, and we must protect this institution, not just for us but for the American people. That is why we should defeat the previous question so that we can establish this bipartisan commission to equip us with the information that we need to support our Capitol Police and the men and women who work in these buildings.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman of the Rules Committee for yielding. I congratulate him for his efforts down at the Rules Committee in acting and acting swiftly.

I appreciate the remarks of Mr. COLE, for whom I have great respect, but I disagree with his sense of a lack of urgency in action. I do agree with him of the consequences of our action. There are consequences to actions, and the actions of the President of the United States demand urgent and clear action by the Congress of the United States.

The chairman of the committee introduced the remarks and put them in the RECORD, but I want to reference the remarks of the chair of the Republican Conference, which is the analog to the Democratic Caucus. It is all the Republicans elected to the Congress of the United States in the House of Representatives. And they elected LIZ CHENEY, the daughter of the Vice President of the United States, the former whip of this House, Dick Cheney, with whom I served in the eighties.

Representative CHENEY, from Wyoming, a conservative Republican, said this: "The President of the United States summoned this mob, assembled the mob, and lit the flame of this attack."

That is not some irresponsible new Member of the Congress of the United States. This is the daughter of the former Republican whip and former Vice President of the United States of America. She knows of what she speaks.

She said this as well: "There has never been a greater betrayal by a President of the United States of his office and his oath to the Constitution."

This is not, as LIZ CHENEY says, just some action. She characterized it as the biggest betrayal of any President of the United States in our history.

Mr. JOHN KATKO—not a backbench Republican who just got here and doesn't know what is going on—Mr. JOHN KATKO, who is the ranking Republican on the Homeland Security Committee, says this: "To allow the President of the United States to incite this attack without consequence is a direct threat to the future of our democracy."

This is not some backbencher on their side of the aisle, Mr. Speaker. It reflects the sense of outrage and the sense of historic dissimilarity from the actions of any previous President.

Then Mr. ADAM KINZINGER, a member of the Energy and Commerce Committee and a senior Member from Illinois—so we have a Member from Wyoming, a Member from Illinois, and a Member from New York. There will be others on this vote who will join them. Mr. KINZINGER said this: "If these actions"—he hasn't had any hearings; he doesn't need any long, drawn-out consideration—"If these actions are not worthy of impeachment, then what is an impeachable offense?"

There is no doubt in my mind that the President of the United States broke his oath and incited this insurrection.

I tell my friend, Mr. Speaker, a gentleman for whom I have great respect—he is my friend, and I say that honestly, not just as rhetoric that we say on this floor, because there are some that I don't consider friends, whose values I do not share. That is not Mr. COLE. We have a difference. LIZ CHENEY, JOHN KATKO, ADAM KINZINGER, and other Republicans whom I have talked to within the last 24 hours believe this action is required.

□ 0945

Mr. Speaker, I see the gentleman from Ohio is on the floor. He likes to say that we Democrats were elected and the first thing we wanted to do was impeach this President. He is shaking his head in agreement because, like the President of the United States, he denies the facts. Trump-like. Fake news.

Mr. Speaker, December 6, 2017, Mr. GREEN, who I am going to refer to, offered a motion because he saw the danger that confronted our country, and he filed a resolution of impeachment. On December 6, 2017, we had a vote on that, and the majority of Democrats voted “no”—actually, they voted “yes” to table—so that we did not proceed in 2017.

The gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN) thought, however, the next year that there was still a danger to our country. Some of us shared that view, but we were not confident that the case could be made or that the transactions that preceded would lead to conviction. So, on January 19 of 2018, we had a motion to table Mr. GREEN’s resolution, and the majority of Democrats voted to table that resolution.

What a rush to judgment.

And then, on July 17, 2019, 9 days before the call to Ukraine to get the Ukrainian leader to act on the political behalf of the President of the United States and where he withheld money to defend the Ukrainian people from Russian involvement and offered that as a bribe, on July 17, the majority of Democrats voted to table that resolution.

Mr. Speaker, there was no rush to judgment.

Then that call to which I just referred was on July 26, 9 days later. I call that the “a-ha moment.” Yes, I knew what I thought, but that was proof.

Some gentlemen have lamented that we didn’t know the whistleblower, because, after all, if we knew the whistleblower, we could intimidate everybody else from coming forward. This President has done everything he can to intimidate whistleblowers, people who came forward and told the truth. And we had witness after witness after witness who confirmed what the whistleblower brought to our attention.

So, Mr. Speaker, the reason I rise today—and I am going to speak on the resolution itself at some later time—is to recognize the contributions that AL GREEN from Texas has made to getting us to this place.

I am not going to read all of the resolution, but I want to read some excerpts from the resolution he has introduced. We won’t be considering his resolution. We will be considering Mr. CICILLINE’s resolution which over 200 others have signed on to.

Mr. GREEN had a resolution be introduced: “Resolved, that Donald Trump, President of the United States” . . . “is impeached for high misdemeanors, and that the following Articles of Impeachment be exhibited to the Senate.”

Article I says, “In his capacity as President of the United States, unmindful of the high duties of his high office and the dignity and proprieties thereof, and of the harmony and courtesies necessary for stability”—to which my friend spoke, the gentleman from Oklahoma—Donald John Trump, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the Office of President “has harmed the society of the United States, brought shame and dishonor to the Office of President of the United States, sowing discord among the people of the United States” by weaponizing hate for political gain.

He went on to say, “On January 6, 2021, in a speech at the National Mall, President Donald Trump weaponized the hate that resulted in violence, the deaths of multiple people, an assault on democracy, and an insurrection against the Capitol of the United States of America by inciting a mob”—who said that? LIZ CHENEY said it, and AL GREEN said it—infected with white supremacists carrying a rebel flag, erecting a gallows structure with a noose, wearing shirts and hateful messages such as “Camp Auschwitz: Work Brings Freedom” and “MAGA Civil War, January 6, 2021.” “MAGA Civil War.”

They had the hats on of the army of MAGA, which I refer to as “Make America Grieve Again.” We grieved at Fort Sumter; we grieved on December 7, 1941; and we grieved on 9/11. And, yes, we grieved on January 6 of this year.

He goes on to say what the President told this mob that LIZ CHENEY said was recruited by the President of the United States. This is the President talking to this mob:

“All of us here today do not want to see our election victory stolen by bold and radical left Democrats”—like the Secretary of State in Georgia and the Governor of Georgia—“which is what they are doing, and stolen by the fake news media.”

Inciting, riling up, creating anger with the fake news and lies that the President of the United States said to these folks.

“That is what they have done and what they are doing,” the President continued. “We will never give up. We will never concede. It doesn’t happen. You don’t concede when there is theft involved.”

And so what did they do? Incited by this President, as LIZ CHENEY said, as JOHN KATKO said, as ADAM KINZINGER said, and, frankly, what Secretary Chao acted upon and what the Secretary of Homeland Security acted upon and what so many others in the administration have acted upon—disgusted, dismayed, and disheartened by what their President had done, they got out. They quit.

The President further emboldened them, saying—this is the Green resolution. We are not considering it, but it is the Green resolution. The President further emboldened them, saying, “You will never take back our country with weakness.”

We had a display of non-weakness, criminal insurrection-like conduct, recruited by and deployed by the President of the United States to come to this Capitol and “stop the steal.”

The “steal,” of course, was: We assembled, accepting what all the courts that considered it said was a fair and accurate election of Joe Biden and KAMALA HARRIS as President and Vice President of the United States.

After his National Mall speech, a mob of his supporters proceeded to the Capitol complex. We know that.

And so Mr. GREEN’s resolution ends with, “Wherefore, to prevent national harm to our society, Donald John Trump, by such conduct, warrants an immediate impeachment trial and removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States Constitution and the 14th Amendment.”

Mr. Speaker, Mr. GREEN is going to speak after me, but, in conclusion, let me tell my friend Mr. COLE: I have been here some time; he has as well. I served with Ronald Reagan, with George H.W. Bush, and George Bush. I had respect for all of those Presidents. They cared about our country, they honored our Constitution, and they executed the duties of their office consistent with the Constitution and laws of our country.

That is not true of this President, and, therefore, he ought to be removed. We have that opportunity to do so. Is there little time left? Yes. But it is never too late to do the right thing.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN), my good friend.

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I had tears well in my eyes as I heard Mr. HOYER, and I know that hearts are hurting. This is a very sad time in the history of our country. No one is celebrating. No one wants to see this occur.

Mr. Speaker, I was at the Committee on Rules by way of Zoom. I was there for the entire hearing. Those Members on the other side, this is something that they understand and they take seriously. Regardless as to what is said, I could sense that they are hurting too.

I just want to thank everyone for all that has happened and the appreciation that has been shown.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, the healing that we talk about that has to begin, the healing has to start with some of these people who were there initially, who helped to lay this foundation, 110 people.

I want to recognize Congresswoman MAXINE WATERS. A lot of them were threatened. Their lives were disrupted.

Mr. Speaker, I include their names in the RECORD.

MEMBERS WHO VOTED FOR IMPEACHMENT
Total Number: 110

KEY

- 1 = H. Res. 646—First 58—Wednesday, December 6, 2017.
2 = H. Res. 705—Historic 66—Friday, January 19, 2018.
3 = H. Res. 498—Noble 95—Wednesday, July 17, 2019.

Member last name, first name, district,
and which article:

Adams, Alma, NC-12, 1,2,3.
Barragán, Nanette, CA-44, 1,2,3.
Bass, Karen, CA-37, 1,2,3.
Beatty, Joyce, OH-03, 1,2,3.
Blumenauer, Earl, OR-03, 3.
Bonamici, Suzanne, OR-01, 3.
Boyle, Brendan, PA-02, 3.
Brady, Robert, PA-01, 1,2.
Brown, Anthony, MD-04, 3.
Butterfield, G.K., NC-01, 2,3.
Capuano, Mike, MA-7, 1,2.
Cárdenas, Tony, CA-29, 3.
Carson, André, IN-07, 2,3.
Castro, Joaquín, TX-20, 3.
Cicilline, David, RI-01, 3.
Clark, Katherine, MA-05, 1,2,3.
Clarke, Yvette, NY-09, 1,2,3.
Clay, Wm. Lacy, MO-01, 1,2,3.
Clyburn, James, SC-6, 1.
Cohen, Steve, TN-09, 1,2,3.
Davis, Danny, IL-07, 1,3.
Dean, Madeleine, PA-04, 3.
DeGette, Diana, CO-01, 3.
DeSaulnier, Mark, CA-11, 1,2,3.
Dingell, Debbie, MI-12, 3.
Doggett, Lloyd, TX-35, 1,2,3.
Doyle, Michael, PA-18, 3.
Ellison, Keith, MN-05, 1,2.
Engel, Eliot, NY-16, 1,2,3.
Escobar, Veronica, TX-16, 3.
Español, Adriano, NY-13, 1,2,3.
Evans, Dwight, PA-03, 1,2,3.
Frankel, Lois, FL-21, 1,2.
Fudge, Marcia, OH-11, 1,3.
Garamendi, John, CA-03, 2.
García, Jesús G. "Chuy", IL-04, 3.
García, Sylvia, TX-29, 3.
Gomez, Jimmy, CA-34, 1,2,3.
Green, Al, TX-09, 1,2,3.
Grijalva, Raúl, AZ-03, 1,2,3.
Gutiérrez, Luis, IL-04, 2.
Hastings, Alcee, FL-20, 1,2.
Higgins, Brian, NY-26, 1,2,3.
Huffman, Jared, CA-02, 1,2,3.
Jackson Lee, Sheila, TX-18, 1,2,3.
Jayapal, Pramila, WA-07, 1,2,3.
Jeffries, Hakeem, NY-08, 2.
Johnson, Eddie Bernice, TX-30, 2,3.
Kelly, Robin, IL-02, 1,3.
Kennedy III, Joseph, MA-04, 3.
Kildee, Daniel, MI-05, 3.
Kirkpatrick, Ann, AZ-02, 3.
Larsen, Rick, WA-02, 3.
Lawrence, Brenda, MI-14, 1,2,3.
Lee, Barbara, CA-13, 1,2,3.
Levin, Mike, CA-49, 3.
Levin, Andy, MI-09, 3.
Lewis, John, GA-05, 1,2.
Lieu, Ted, CA-33, 1,2,3.
Lofgren, Zoe, CA-19, 3.
Lowenthal, Alan, CA-47, 2,3.
Lowey, Nita, NY-17, 3.
Maloney, Carolyn, NY-12, 3.
Matsui, Doris, CA-06, 3.
McCollum, Betty, MN-04, 1,2,3.
McGovern, James, MA-02, 1,2,3.
McNerney, Jerry, CA-09, 1,2,3.
Meng, Grace, NY-06, 3.
Moore, Gwen, WI-04, 1,2,3.
Moulton, Seth, MA-06, 1,2,3.
Nadler, Jerrold, NY-10, 3.
Napolitano, Grace, CA-32, 1,2,3.
Neguse, Joe, CO-02, 3.
Norcross, Donald, NJ-01, 1,2,3.
Ocasio-Cortez, Alexandria, NY-14, 3.
Omar, Ilhan, MN-05, 3.

Pallone, Frank, NJ-06, 1,2,3.
Pascarell, Bill, NJ-09, 1,2,3.
Payne, Donald, NJ-10, 2,3.
Pingree, Chellie, ME-01, 1,2,3.
Pocan, Mark, WI-02, 2,3.
Polis, Jared, CO-02, 1,2.
Pressley, Ayanna, MA-07, 3.
Raskin, Jamie, MD-08, 1,2,3.
Richmond, Cedric, LA-02, 1,2,3.
Roybal-Allard, Lucille, CA-40, 3.
Rush, Bobby, IL-01, 1,2.
Scanlon, Mary, PA-05, 3.
Schakowsky, Janice, IL-08, 1,2,3.
Scott, David, GA-13, 2,3.
Serrano, José, NY-15, 2.
Sherman, Brad, CA-30, 1,2,3.
Slaughter, Louise, NY-25, 1.
Speier, Jackie, CA-14, 3.
Swalwell, Eric, CA-15, 3.
Thompson, Mike, CA-05, 3.
Thompson, Bennie, MS-02, 1,2,3.
Titus, Dina, NV-01, 1,2,3.
Tlaib, Rashida, MI-13, 3.
Tonko, Paul, NY-20, 3.
Torres, Norma, CA-35, 3.
Trahan, Lori, MA-03, 3.
Vargas, Juan, CA-51, 1,2,3.
Vela, Filemon, TX-34, 1,2,3.
Velázquez, Nydia, NY-07, 2,3.
Walz, Tim, MN-01, 1,2.
Waters, Maxine, CA-43, 1,2,3.
Watson Coleman, Bonnie, NJ-12, 1,2,3.
Welch, Peter, VT-At Large, 3.
Wilson, Frederica, FL-24, 1,2,3.

MEMBERS WHO VOTED FOR IMPEACHMENT

H. RES. 646—FIRST 58—WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 6,
2017

Member last name, first name, district:

Adams, Alma, NC-12.
Barragán, Nanette, CA-44.
Bass, Karen, CA-37.
Beatty, Joyce, OH-03.
Brady, Robert, PA-01.
Capuano, Mike, MA-7.
Clark, Katherine, MA-05.
Clarke, Yvette, NY-09.
Clay, Wm. Lacy, MO-01.
Clyburn, James, SC-6.
Cohen, Steve, TN-09.
Davis, Danny, IL-07.
DeSaulnier, Mark, CA-11.
Doggett, Lloyd, TX-35.
Ellison, Keith, MN-05.
Engel, Eliot, NY-16.
Español, Adriano, NY-13.
Evans, Dwight, PA-03.
Frankel, Lois, FL-21.
Fudge, Marcia, OH-11.
Gomez, Jimmy, CA-34.
Green, Al, TX-09.
Grijalva, Raúl, AZ-03.
Hastings, Alcee, FL-20.
Higgins, Brian, NY-26.
Huffman, Jared, CA-02.
Jackson Lee, Sheila, TX-18.
Jayapal, Pramila, WA-07.
Kelly, Robin, IL-02.
Lawrence, Brenda, MI-14.
Lee, Barbara, CA-13.
Lewis, John, GA-05.
Lieu, Ted, CA-33.
McCollum, Betty, MN-04.
McGovern, James, MA-02.
McNerney, Jerry, CA-09.
Moore, Gwen, WI-04.
Moulton, Seth, MA-06.
Napolitano, Grace, CA-32.
Norcross, Donald, NJ-01.
Pallone, Frank, NJ-06.
Pascarell, Bill, NJ-09.
Pingree, Chellie, ME-01.
Polis, Jared, CO-02.
Raskin, Jamie, MD-08.
Richmond, Cedric, LA-02.
Rush, Bobby, IL-01.
Schakowsky, Janice, IL-08.
Sherman, Brad, CA-30.

Slaughter, Louise, NY-25.
Thompson, Bennie, MS-02.
Titus, Dina, NV-01.
Vargas, Juan, CA-51.
Vela, Filemon, TX-34.
Walz, Tim, MN-01.
Waters, Maxine, CA-43.
Watson Coleman, Bonnie, NJ-12.
Wilson, Frederica, FL-24.

MEMBERS WHO VOTED FOR IMPEACHMENT

H. RES. 705—HISTORIC 66—FRIDAY, JANUARY 19,
2018

Member last name first name, district:

Adams, Alma, NC-12.
Barragán, Nanette, CA-44.
Bass, Karen, CA-37.
Beatty, Joyce, OH-03.
Brady, Robert, PA-01.
Butterfield, G.K., NC-01.
Capuano, Mike, MA-7.
Carson, André, IN-07.
Clark, Katherine, MA-05.
Clarke, Yvette, NY-09.
Clay, Wm. Lacy, MO-01.
Cohen, Steve, TN-09.
Davis, Danny, IL-07.
DeSaulnier, Mark, CA-11.
Doggett, Lloyd, TX-35.
Ellison, Keith, MN-05.
Engel, Eliot, NY-16.
Español, Adriano, NY-13.
Evans, Dwight, PA-03.
Frankel, Lois, FL-21.
Garamendi, John, CA-03.
Gomez, Jimmy, CA-34.
Green, Al, TX-09.
Grijalva, Raúl, AZ-03.
Gutiérrez, Luis, IL-04.
Hastings, Alcee, FL-20.
Higgins, Brian, NY-26.
Huffman, Jared, CA-02.
Jackson Lee, Sheila, TX-18.
Jayapal, Pramila, WA-07.
Jeffries, Hakeem, NY-08.
Johnson, Eddie Bernice, TX-30.
Lawrence, Brenda, MI-14.
Lee, Barbara, CA-13.
Lewis, John, GA-05.
Lieu, Ted, CA-33.
Lowenthal, Alan, CA-47.
McCollum, Betty, MN-04.
McGovern, James, MA-02.
McNerney, Jerry, CA-09.
Moore, Gwen, WI-04.
Moulton, Seth, MA-06.
Napolitano, Grace, CA-32.
Norcross, Donald, NJ-01.
Pallone, Frank, NJ-06.
Pascarell, Bill, NJ-09.
Payne, Donald, NJ-10.
Pingree, Chellie, ME-01.
Pocan, Mark, WI-02.
Polis, Jared, CO-02.
Raskin, Jamie, MD-08.
Richmond, Cedric, LA-02.
Rush, Bobby, IL-01.
Schakowsky, Janice, IL-08.
Scott, David, GA-13.
Serrano, José, NY-15.
Sherman, Brad, CA-30.
Thompson, Bennie, MS-02.
Titus, Dina, NV-01.
Vargas, Juan, CA-51.
Vela, Filemon, TX-34.
Velázquez, Nydia, NY-07.
Walz, Tim, MN-01.
Waters, Maxine, CA-43.
Watson Coleman, Bonnie, NJ-12.
Wilson, Frederica, FL-24.

MEMBERS WHO VOTED FOR IMPEACHMENT

H. RES. 498—NOBLE 95—WEDNESDAY, JULY 17, 2019

Member last name, first name, district:

Adams, Alma, NC-12.
Barragán, Nanette, CA-44.
Bass, Karen, CA-37.
Beatty, Joyce, OH-03.

Blumenauer, Earl, OR-03.
 Bonamici, Suzanne, OR-01.
 Boyle, Brendan, PA-02.
 Brown, Anthony, MD-04.
 Butterfield, G.K., NC-01.
 Cárdenas, Tony, CA-29.
 Carson, André, IN-07.
 Castro, Joaquin, TX-20.
 Cicilline, David, RI-01.
 Clark, Katherine, MA-05.
 Clarke, Yvette, NY-09.
 Clay, Wm. Lacy, PA-01.
 Cohen, Steve, TN-09.
 Davis, Danny, IL-07.
 Dean, Madeleine, PA-04.
 DeGette, Diana, CO-01.
 DeSaulnier, Mark, CA-11.
 Dingell, Debbie, MI-12.
 Doggett, Lloyd, TX-35.
 Doyle, Michael, PA-18.
 Engel, Eliot, NY-16.
 Escobar, Veronica, TX-16.
 Espaillat, Adriano, NY-13.
 Evans, Dwight, PA-03.
 Fudge, Marcia, OH-11.
 García, Jesús G. "Chuy", IL-04.
 García, Sylvia, TX-29.
 Gomez, Jimmy, CA-34.
 Green, Al, TX-09.
 Grijalva, Raúl, AZ-03.
 Higgins, Brian, NY-26.
 Huffman, Jared, CA-02.
 Jackson Lee, Sheila, TX-18.
 Jayapal, Pramila, WA-07.
 Johnson, Eddie Bernice, TX-30.
 Kelly, Robin, IL-02.
 Kennedy III, Joseph, MA-04.
 Kildee, Daniel, MI-05.
 Kirkpatrick, Ann, AZ-02.
 Larsen, Rick, WA-02.
 Lawrence, Brenda, MI-14.
 Lee, Barbara, CA-13.
 Levin, Mike, CA-49.
 Levin, Andy, MI-09.
 Lieu, Ted, CA-33.
 Lofgren, Zoe, CA-19.
 Lowenthal, Alan, CA-47.
 Lowey, Nita, NY-17.
 Maloney, Carolyn, NY-12.
 Matsui, Doris, CA-06.
 McCollum, Betty, MN-04.
 McGovern, James, MA-02.
 McNerney, Jerry, CA-09.
 Meng, Grace, NY-06.
 Moore, Gwen, WI-04.
 Moulton, Seth, MA-06.
 Nadler, Jerrold, NY-10.
 Napolitano, Grace, CA-32.
 Neguse, Joe, CO-02.
 Norcross, Donald, NJ-01.
 Ocasio-Cortez, Alexandria, NY-14.
 Omar, Ilhan, MN-05.
 Pallone, Frank, NJ-06.
 Pascarella, Bill, NJ-09.
 Payne, Donald, NJ-10.
 Pingree, Chellie, ME-01.
 Pocan, Mark, WI-02.
 Pressley, Ayanna, MA-07.
 Raskin, Jamie, MD-08.
 Richmond, Cedric, LA-02.
 Roybal-Allard, Lucille, CA-40.
 Scanlon, Mary, PA-05.
 Schakowsky, Janice, IL-08.
 Scott, David, GA-13.
 Sherman, Brad, CA-30.
 Speier, Jackie, CA-14.
 Swalleywell, Eric, CA-15.
 Thompson, Mike, CA-05.
 Thompson, Bennie, MS-02.
 Titus, Dina, NV-01.
 Tlaib, Rashida, MI-13.
 Tonko, Paul, NY-20.
 Torres, Norma, CA-35.
 Trahan, Lori, MA-03.
 Vargas, Juan, CA-51.
 Vela, Filemon, TX-34.
 Velázquez, Nydia, NY-07.
 Waters, Maxine, CA-43.

Watson Coleman, Bonnie, NJ-12.

Welch, Peter, VT-At Large.

Wilson, Frederica, FL-24.

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, may God bless our country as we go forward.

MR. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH), my good friend, distinguished Republican Member, our leader of the Budget Committee.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, if we defeat the previous question, we will amend the rule to immediately bring up the bill establishing a bipartisan national commission on the domestic terror attack of the United States Capitol.

This has been a devastating week for our Nation. Just last week, we stood right here in this very Chamber while a violent mob laid siege to the seat of American democracy. It is vital we get the facts on what went wrong last week, why the security apparatus failed, and how we can ensure it never—it never—happens again.

Mr. Speaker, less than 50 feet from where we stand in this room, a young lady lost her life through those doors—through those doors. I was in this Chamber when those gunshots rang. That is real stuff. That should never happen in the people's House.

For the first time, can the House Democrats and the Speaker of the House put the people before politics?

Please put the people before politics. At a time when our Nation is more divided than ever before, let's put people before politics.

President Trump will be leaving in 7 days. Let's try to heal this Nation. Let's listen to the American people. This is the people's House. Let's operate for the people.

This country is hurting. The people are hurting. Our colleagues are hurting.

This is a reckless impeachment. This will only bring up the hate and fire more than ever before.

Have a conscience. Put the people before politics. Unify this country.

□ 1000

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, let me remind all of my colleagues that what happened on Wednesday would not have happened if it weren't for the occupant in the White House. If we want to put the people first, we all ought to vote to impeach him and remove him from office as soon as possible.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. BROWNLEY).

Ms. BROWNLEY. Mr. Speaker, today is a defining moment in our history.

Congress was attacked by a mob directed by the President of the United States. It was a horrible, terrifying situation. But we all know, deep in our hearts, that it could have been much, much worse.

We simply cannot let it stand. We cannot let it stand for the very soul of our democracy. We cannot let the

President of the United States leave office without acting.

We are the oldest constitutional republic in the world, and our Capitol is a sacred symbol of our great democracy.

To my colleagues across the aisle, I appeal to your sense of service and duty to our Nation and to the oath we all swore to uphold. Before we are Democrats and Republicans, we are Americans. Let us come together to fulfill our oath by voting for the resolution before us and by defending, preserving, and honoring our democracy.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from South Carolina (Ms. MACE), one of our new Members, and note this is her first speech on the House floor.

Ms. MACE. Mr. Speaker, this is not the reason I wanted to give my first speech in our Chamber, in our hallowed Halls. This is not what I wanted to do in my first week in office. But after the violent events of last week, watching and witnessing how heartbreaking this was, thank God I sent my kids home on Monday morning because I was worried about the rhetoric leading up to the events and to the rally on January 6, the violence that could transpire.

Not only were our lives in danger but if my kids were here, their lives would have been in danger, too, the two most precious people in my life.

Mr. Speaker, the U.S. House of Representatives has every right to impeach the President of the United States. What we are doing today, rushing this impeachment in an hour- or 2-hour-long debate on the floor in this Chamber, bypassing Judiciary, poses great questions about the constitutionality of this process.

I believe we need to hold the President accountable. I hold him accountable for the events that transpired, for the attack on our Capitol last Wednesday. I also believe we need to hold accountable every single person, even Members of Congress, if they contributed to the violence that transpired here.

But, today, I am asking my colleagues to remember the words of the legendary, great leader in this country, Dr. Martin Luther King, who once said the time is always right to do what is right.

If we are serious about healing the division in this country, Republicans and Democrats need to acknowledge this is not the first day of violence we have seen. We have seen violence across our country for the last 9 months. We need to recognize, number one, that our words have consequences, that there is violence on both sides of the aisle. We have contributed to it. We need to take responsibility for our words and our actions. We need to acknowledge there is a problem, take responsibility for it, and stop being part of the problem and start being part of the solution.

God bless every Member in the Chamber today, and God bless the United States of America.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. WELCH).

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Speaker, our government is founded on the principle of all power flows from the people.

Donald Trump challenged this principle in two ways: Deceit and violence. The deceit is repeated in baseless assertions of an electoral fraud. The violence, the attack on the United States Capitol on January 6, the mob was assembled by Donald Trump, incited by Donald Trump, and in service of Donald Trump's effort to overturn, through violence, what he lost at the voting booth.

The violent mob reached the Capitol; killed and injured Capitol Police; destroyed property; threatened the Vice President, Members of Congress, and staff, all to obstruct the peaceful transfer of power.

If we want unity, we must have accountability. So the question before this Congress: Will Congress condone through acquiescence or condemn through impeachment Donald Trump's violent acts to overturn the election?

Congress must impeach.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. JORDAN), the distinguished Republican leader of the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. JORDAN. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, in his opening remarks, the Democrat chair of the Rules Committee said that Republicans last week voted to overturn the results of an election.

Guess who the first objector was on January 6, 2017, the first objector? The Democrat chair of the Rules Committee. And guess which State he objected to? Alabama. The very first State called, Alabama. President Trump, I think, won Alabama with 80 points. Actually, he won it by 30 points.

They can object. They can object to Alabama in 2017 but tell us we can't object to Pennsylvania in 2021, Pennsylvania where the State supreme court just unilaterally extended the election to Friday; Pennsylvania where the secretary of state unilaterally changed the rules, went around the legislature in an unconstitutional fashion; Pennsylvania where county clerks in some counties, and you can imagine which counties they were, let people fix their ballots against the law, cure their ballots, their mail-in ballots, a direct violation of law. And they tell us we tried to overturn the election?

Guess who the second objector was in 2017? The individual managing the impeachment for the Democrats.

Americans are tired of the double standard. They are so tired of it. Democrats objected to more States in 2017 than Republicans did last week, but somehow we are wrong.

Democrats can raise bail for rioters and looters this summer, but somehow when Republicans condemn all the vio-

lence, the violence this summer, the violence last week, somehow we are wrong. Democrats can investigate the President of the United States, as Mr. HOYER went through, tried to impeach him, investigate him for 4 years, but will not look at an election that 80 million Americans, half the electorate, 80 million, Republicans and Democrats, have their doubts about.

I said this last night. I do not know where all this goes, and this is frightening for the country. We should defeat this rule, and we should defeat the impeachment resolution when it comes up later this afternoon.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, some of us objected 4 years ago as a protest vote to raise concerns about what all of our intelligence agencies had stated clearly, which was that Russia had interfered in our election.

What the gentleman fails to acknowledge is that we all acknowledged that Donald Trump was the President the day after the election. Hillary Clinton conceded the day after the election.

And none of us push conspiracy theories like some of my friends on the other side of the aisle have been doing, and this President, that somehow the President won in a landslide. Give me a break.

Yesterday, in the Rules Committee, I asked the gentleman from Ohio if he would just say five simple words. Mr. Speaker, I will tell you that he was talking about healing. The five simple words that one could say that would help heal this Nation are that: "The election was not stolen." That is it, five simple words. He refused. He said he never said the election was stolen. Well, the evidence shows otherwise. Let me reference this Dana Milbank piece titled "Five pesky little words keep stumping Jim Jordan."

Mr. Speaker, the bottom line is this. This Capitol was stormed. People died because of the big lies that were being told by this President and by too many people on the other side of the aisle.

Enough. People should be outraged as to what happened. It was unforgivable, unconscionable. Coming up on this floor and talking about whataboutism and trying to make these false equivalencies, give me a break.

The President of the United States instigated an attempted coup in this country. People died. Everybody should be outraged, whether you are a Democrat or a Republican. If this is not an impeachable offense, I don't know what the hell is.

This President is not fit to remain in office.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFAZIO).

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, this was not a one-off. It was a long time coming. It was a part of a plan to perpetuate Trump in office.

Trump's campaign strategy was: The election, the only way we can lose is if it is stolen. It is stolen; it is fake. "It is stolen," repeated by many of his fellow travelers on that side, more

than 150 times by Trump over the summer.

Then, they litigated to disqualify voters. That didn't work.

Then, they litigated to throw out ballots. Well, that didn't work.

Then, they attempted to delay the count with State legislatures. Well, that didn't work.

Last ditch, the President called down to Georgia and said: Can't you find me more votes?

And then, one last desperate plea: Stop the January 6 certification. And the President talked about that on September 26. He said: You know, if it goes to Congress, there is one vote per State, and we have an advantage.

So, I think this was part of a plan to disrupt the electoral college of the United States.

Giuliani: "Trial by combat."

Trump: "You will never take back our country with weakness."

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. RESCHENTHALER), a new member of the Rules Committee.

Mr. RESCHENTHALER. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply troubled by last week's attack on our Capitol, and I pray for the families of Officer Sicknick and Officer Liebgood.

As I have been saying all summer long, violence and rioting has no place in America. The criminals responsible for last week's rioting must be brought to justice. At a time when our Nation is still healing, we must seek out issues to work on that unite us rather than issues that further divide us.

I was greatly encouraged to see our country unite in condemnation of last week's lawlessness and the rioting. I am further encouraged that, despite my Democrat colleagues' claims to the contrary, President Trump is committed to a peaceful and uninterrupted transfer of power.

But that is not good enough for my colleagues across the aisle. With just 7 days left in President Trump's term, they are fast-tracking impeachment proceedings, a move which will no doubt further divide an already fractured Nation.

Even House Democrats' last impeachment effort, which was rushed through in record time, at the very least, that had expert input, depositions, hearings, and deliberation. This latest attempt at impeachment ignores all precedent. It ignores all due process. It cannot be voted on in the Senate before Joe Biden is sworn into office.

I am also very concerned by the charge against the President of "incitement of insurrection." At his rally, President Trump urged attendees to "peacefully and patriotically make your voices heard." There was no mention of violence, let alone calls to action.

Look, I prosecuted terrorists in the Navy. I was a defense attorney in the Navy JAG Corps. I was a district judge. Pull up the criminal statute. Look at the criminal code. President Trump's

words would not even meet the definition of incitement under criminal statutes.

The measure before us today sets a dangerous precedent whereby political parties can justify impeachment simply because they do not agree with the President. I would, therefore, urge my colleagues across the aisle to just take a step back, let cooler heads prevail, and consider how the actions we are taking here today will alter the course of history, will lower an already low bar of impeachment for all future Presidencies.

□ 1015

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, when my friends talk about the President being committed to a peaceful transition, I just point to what happened on Wednesday when his words launched a violent attack against this Capitol where five people lost their lives and many more were injured. So give me a break.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE).

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Contrary to my good friend's words, the President of the United States is an insurrectionist. He led an insurrection against the United States of America.

Prior to the January 6 attack by violent domestic terrorists, the President spoke to the crowd for 1 hour, and these were his words. These were his words, which is that we cannot take the Nation back. We have to take the Nation back with strength, and you must go and do that. Those were the paraphrase of his words.

The President provoked these domestic terrorists with words, with actions and conduct that betray a contempt and hostility to the national value of equal justice under the law, telling domestic terrorists, nearly all of them white supremacists, many of them, who support him politically, who stormed the Capitol to derail Congress from completing its constitutionally required duty of counting and verifying the vote.

Mr. Speaker, as a senior member of the Committees on the Judiciary and on Homeland Security, I rise in strong support of the rule governing debate on H. Res. 24, a resolution impeaching the current President of the United States for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, warranting his conviction and removal from office and, in accordance with Article I, Section 3, clause 7, disqualification from ever again holding and enjoying an Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States."

I strongly support the rule and the underlying resolution calling for impeachment and removal of this President because after the horrifying events of Wednesday last, January 6, 2021, another day that will live in infamy, the continuance in office of this President for even one moment longer represents a clear and present threat to the security of the United States, its people, institutions, and democratic form of government.

To put it in the words of the Framers, the current President's conduct reflects and reveals a person "whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people."

To put it in contemporary terms, the current President can rightly be said to be perhaps the leading cause of state-sponsored domestic terrorism.

Every minute this President remains in office represents a minute of maximum peril to the American people and the American Experiment.

Unrepentant after his perfidious and treacherous conduct of Wednesday last, the President just yesterday went to Alamo, Texas, without giving any advance notice or consultation to the leaders of that community.

Does anyone really doubt that the President's true purpose in going to Alamo was to signal to his band of disloyalists his desire that they make a last stand and fight to the death in his name?

I do not, and neither does the majority of the American people, and I suspect that in their heart of hearts, neither do our colleagues on the Republican side.

Mr. Speaker, three facts demonstrate why immediate action to remove the President is essential.

First, the abject failure and refusal of the President to take care that the laws be faithfully executed puts lives at risk.

When the U.S. Capitol was besieged last week by domestic terrorists, the President obstructed and denied the request of the Mayor of the District of Columbia to call out the National Guard to protect life and property; it took the Vice-President, working with Speaker PELOSI and incoming Senate Majority Leader SCHUMER to prevail upon the Department of Defense to come to the defense of the Capitol and the people trapped inside.

Instead of acting in accordance with his sacred oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution and to take care that the people and property of the United States are protected against all enemies, foreign or domestic, the President did nothing but watch the mayhem on television, ebullient at the enthusiastic display of support from his lawless loyalists.

Second, the current President's conduct stands in stark and marked contrast to his conduct earlier this year when protests were sweeping the country in response to the murder of George Floyd, when the President dispatched law enforcement authorities to put down peaceful protests led by moms and veterans in Portland, Oregon and social justice activists in Washington, D.C.

Back then, the President mobilized a heavy police presence, many on horseback and others using tear gas, to clear Lafayette Square of peaceful protesters so he could walk across the street to have himself photographed clutching a bible upside down in front of a church.

Third, the President's words, actions, and conduct betray a contempt and hostility to the national value of equal justice under law, telling the domestic terrorists, many of whom were white supremacists who support him politically, who stormed the Capitol to derail Congress from completing its constitutionally required duty of counting and verifying the votes of presidential electors, that "we love you. You're very special," while referring to African

Americans and other persons of color protesting social injustice and inequalities in the criminal justice system as "animals," "thugs," and "anarchists."

Mr. Speaker, the President's actions inciting insurrection against the United States was the proximate cause of the horrifying siege of the U.S. Capitol, the destruction and desecration of the Citadel of Democracy, and the deaths of at least six persons, one of whom was a uniformed officer to the United States Capitol Police, whom was bludgeoned to death by the incited mob.

Abusing the powers and resources of his high office, Donald John Trump has actively and continuously endeavored to undermine the essential institutions and foundations of a democratic system of government in the United States, engaging in a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evincing a design to make himself an authoritarian ruler unaccountable to, and independent of, the people of the United States.

The utter unfitness of the President for the office he holds and his contempt for the sacred oath he took before the nation with God as his witness, was vividly on display on January 6, 2021.

But signs of his calumny were on display in plain sight, reflected by his misbehavior and malfeasance from the earliest days of his administration.

Abusing the powers and resources of his high office, this President has actively and continuously endeavored to undermine the essential institutions and foundations of a democratic system of government in the United States, engaging in a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evincing a design to make himself an authoritarian ruler unaccountable to, and independent of, the people of the United States by:

(1) Soliciting and welcoming the assistance of a hostile foreign power to aid him in securing election in 2016 as President of the United States;

(2) Refusing to acknowledge Russian interference in the internal affairs of the United States, and then opposing responses by Congress and the Executive Branch to protect the national security and interests of the United States against future Russian interference and aggression;

(3) Publicly conveying his interest and willingness to accept the assistance of foreign powers in his attempt win reelection as President of the United States;

(4) Refusing continuously to acknowledge to the American people that he would accept and be bound by the verdict rendered in the 2020 Presidential election, instead claiming that any outcome in which he was not declared the winner was fraudulent, rigged, and illegitimate;

(5) Taking active measures to impede and undermine the ability of American citizens to convey their disapproval of his continuance in office by exercising their rights as voters, including misusing the United States Postal Service to prevent the timely delivery of mail-in ballots;

(6) Instituting frivolous lawsuits to overturn the results of the 2020 Presidential election, falsely alleging wide-spread voting fraud but producing no evidence in support of his spurious allegations;

(7) Exhorting and inciting his supporters to believe falsely that victory in the 2020 Presidential election had been stolen from him and

that constitutionally required Joint Meeting of Congress for the purpose of counting the votes of electors and announcement of the result by the President of the Senate was illegitimate and intended to complete the theft of his victory; and

(8) Failing to take action to protect and defend Federal officers and personnel, property, buildings, and institutions on January 6, 2021, at the U.S. Capitol that was besieged by supporters of Donald John Trump, resulting in extensive damage to the property of the United States and the deaths of at least four persons.

This is why multiple Members of Congress, introduced resolutions of articles of impeachment; joined by dozens of original cosponsors, I introduced H. Res. 26, impeaching the President for the High Crimes and Misdemeanors of (1) Abuse of Power and (2) Willful Refusal And Failure To Protect And Defend The Constitution Of The United States.

Mr. Speaker, Donald John Trump has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and subversive of constitutional government, to the great prejudice of the cause of law and justice, and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

He must be impeached, convicted, removed from office, and disqualified from ever again holding and enjoying an Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States.

My love and reverence for the Constitution compels me to vote to impeach this President and I urge all my colleagues who revere the Constitution and our democracy, which has endured for more than 240 years, to join me in voting for the rule for H. Res. 24, so we can vote to impeach Donald John Trump for High Crimes and Misdemeanors against the United States.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia (Mr. CARTER), my very good friend.

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to this effort to move forward with impeachment proceedings.

What happened on Wednesday, January 6, was nothing short of pure anarchy. Those individuals who broke the law should be held accountable for their actions. They should be prosecuted to the highest extent of the law, and they should be put in jail.

This was one of the saddest days of my life, last Wednesday, Mr. Speaker. Our thoughts and our prayers are with the police officers and other law enforcement who carried out their duties on that tragic day, including Officers Sicknick and Liebengood.

Right now, our focus should be on healing, healing our Nation. With so many upset and dismayed at the actions of last week, it is our responsibility to chart a path forward, to subdue the growing animosity, and to find ways to heal our country.

Unfortunately, I don't believe this resolution will achieve those goals, especially 7 days ahead of the inauguration. This is a very serious and concerning effort during such a tense and fragile time in our country.

I urge my colleagues to consider how this would further entrench people during such a tense time. I cannot support this.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All Members are reminded to wear face coverings while on the floor. All Members and staff should be wearing face coverings while on the floor.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT).

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, for years Donald Trump has honored thugs worldwide who suppress democracy. For months, with a daily diet of lies, he has made clear his refusal to accept any election in which he was not the winner.

After failing completely in his repeated attempts to intimidate both Republican election officials into committing fraud and Republican-appointed judges into ignoring our Constitution, he made a desperate attempt last week to block the final election count and prevent the peaceful transition of power essential to democracy. Trump basically attempted to overthrow the government, to violently overthrow the first branch of government, this Congress.

Like his deadly reaction to the pandemic, he totally bungled the deadly attack. Both his frenzied riotous mob and his congressional enablers were defeated. America, we did "stop the steal." We stopped Donald Trump from stealing our democracy and imposing himself as a tyrant.

Today, we not only demand accountability for his gross misconduct, but more importantly, we declare to the next Trump-like aspiring tyrant, not in America, we love our democracy too much. Our Capitol is scarred, but our democracy survives. Violating his sworn duty to protect and defend our Constitution by seeking to violently overthrow the government by inciting violence, lighting the flames of a deadly insurrection. If this is not impeachable, nothing is.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I advise the Chair that I have additional speakers on the way, but they are having a difficult time. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO).

Ms. DELAURO. On November 3, the American people voted overwhelmingly for Joe Biden and KAMALA HARRIS to serve as President and Vice President of the United States.

The country was about to enter a new era, with great hope for change. Yet, with a decisive mandate and majority, the President used untruthful claims to end the completion of a constitutional process of collecting the electoral votes making Joe Biden President of the United States.

Not accepting the will of the American people, the President unleashed the most horrific violence that overwhelmed the security forces at this Capitol, which was overrun for the first time since 1812, putting the lives of so many at risk—indeed, a day of infamy.

This impeachment will be viewed as a transcendent vote, where all will be

judged. Vote to impeach the President of the United States, Donald J. Trump.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Ms. CASTOR).

Ms. CASTOR of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

I rise today to urge the impeachment of Donald Trump because the attack on the Capitol and the Congress was the single most depraved betrayal of the U.S. Constitution ever committed by a President. The traitorous incitement of an insurrection demands not just impeachment but removal from office immediately.

Violence during the transfer of power, Confederate flags, anti-Semitic paraphernalia desecrated this Capitol. Accountability must come swiftly. We must act with the same resoluteness we showed in the early morning hours after the insurrection, where we ensured the will of the voters was effectuated.

Donald Trump's defilement of this Capitol will not stand. It demands impeachment now.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. BISHOP), who is my very good friend.

Mr. BISHOP of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

These articles charge incitement. Once before, the House impeached a President of the United States within a week of the alleged offense. That was President Andrew Johnson days after he removed Secretary of War Edwin Stanton in 1868. Over 50 years later, the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the Tenure of Office Act that President Johnson had refused to obey.

In other words, the House was not only hasty, it was wrong, punishing noncompliance with the unconstitutional law. At least when that occurred, the constitutionality of the law in question was unsettled. Here, however, an angry House majority races to impeachment in direct violation of settled constitutional law.

Again, the articles before the House charge incitement to insurrection. They do not specify inciting language. The law is well settled: "What is required, to forfeit constitutional protection, is incitement speech that 'specifically advocates' for listeners to take unlawful action."

The violence last Wednesday was abhorrent. Perpetrators should be prosecuted. Those responsible for security decisions held accountable. Congress can disapprove, revile, condemn, even censure. But Congress cannot, consistent with the rule of law, punish that which the Constitution's First Amendment declares protected. If my colleagues do it, the violators of the duty to this Constitution, however angry, will be those who vote for this Article of Impeachment. It is not Mr.

GREEN's Article of Impeachment. It is incitement, and the Constitution is settled on that point.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Minnesota (Ms. OMAR).

Ms. OMAR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Let us not mince words about what happened last week. It was a violent attempt to interrupt our democratic process. It was a targeted blow at the most essential process that makes us a democracy. It was directly and specifically incited by the President of the United States.

For years, we have been asked to turn a blind eye to the criminality, corruption, and blatant disregard to the rule of law by the tyrant President we have in the White House. We, as a nation, can no longer look away.

The President not only incited an insurrection against our government but has, in word and deed, led a rebellion.

We cannot simply move past this or turn the page. For us to be able to survive as a functioning democracy, there has to be accountability.

We must impeach and remove this President from office immediately so that he cannot be a threat to our democracy.

I stand ready to fulfill my oath of office. I challenge my colleagues on the other side of the aisle to do the same.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a New York Times article published January 9 titled "Our President Wants Us Here: The Mob That Stormed the Capitol." It is another example of why our country cannot risk even one more day of Donald Trump.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 9, 2021]

OUR PRESIDENT WANTS US HERE: THE MOB THAT STORMED THE CAPITOL

(By Dan Barry, Mike McIntire and Matthew Rosenberg)

It was the table setter for what would come, with nearly 2,000 people gathering in Washington on Tuesday evening for a "Rally to Save America." Speaker after angry speaker stoked stolen-election conspiracy theories and name-checked sworn enemies: Democrats and weak Republicans, Communists and Satanists.

Still, the crowd seemed a bit giddy at the prospect of helping President Trump reverse the result of the election—though at times the language evoked a call to arms. "It is time for war," one speaker declared.

As the audience thinned, groups of young men emerged in Kevlar vests and helmets, a number of them holding clubs and knives. Some were aligned with the neofascist Proud Boys; others with the Three Percenters, a far-right militia group.

"We're not backing down anymore," said a man with fresh stitches on his head. "This is our country."

That night reflected a disconcerting mix of free speech and certain menace; of everyday Americans supporting their president and extremists prepared to commit violence for him. All had assembled in answer to Mr. Trump's repeated appeals to attend a march to the Capitol the next day that he promised would be "wild."

It was. By Wednesday afternoon, a narrow group of Trump supporters—some exuberant, some hellbent—had been storm-tossed together into infamy. A mob overran the nation's Capitol, as lawmakers hid in fear. Wholesale vandalism. Tear gas. Gunfire. A woman dead; an officer dead; many injured. Chants of "U.S.A.! U.S.A.!"

But the insurrection failed.

It had been the culmination of a sustained assault by the president and his enablers on fact-based reality, one that began long before the November election but took on a fevered urgency as the certainty of Mr. Trump's defeat solidified. For years, he had demonized political opponents and the media and egged on thuggish behavior at his rallies.

Since losing to Joseph R. Biden Jr., he had mounted a campaign of lies that the presidency was being stolen from him, and that marching on the Capitol was the last chance to stop it. To many Americans, it looked like one more feel-good rally to salve Mr. Trump's wounded ego, but some of his supporters heard something altogether different—a battle cry.

Now, dozens of them have been arrested—including an armed Alabama man who had Molotov cocktails in his car and a West Virginia lawmaker charged with illegally entering the Capitol—and the Federal Bureau of Investigation is asking for help in identifying those who "actively instigated violence." Many participants in the march are frantically working to erase digital evidence of their presence for fear of losing a job or being harassed online.

Mr. Trump, meanwhile, has been broadly condemned and cut off from his social media megaphones, as a new administration prepares to take power.

Kevin Haag, 67, a retired landscaper from North Carolina who ascended the Capitol steps as the crowd surged forward, said he did not go inside and disapproved of those who did. Even so, he said he would never forget the sense of empowerment as he looked down over thousands of protesters. It felt so good, he said, to show people: "We are here. See us! Notice us! Pay attention!"

Now, back home after several days of reflection, Mr. Haag, an evangelical Christian, wonders whether he went too far. "Should I get down on my knees and ask for forgiveness?" he said in an interview. "I am asking myself that question."

But the experience seemed to have only hardened the resolve of others. Couy Griffin, 47, a Republican county commissioner from New Mexico, spoke of organizing another Capitol rally soon—one that could result in "blood running out of that building"—in a video he later posted to the Facebook page of his group, Cowboys for Trump.

Couy Griffin, a Republican county commissioner from New Mexico and organizer of the group Cowboys for Trump, said a future Capitol rally could have "blood running out of that building." "You want to say that that was a mob? You want to say that was a violence? No, sir, no, ma'am, no. We could have a Second Amendment rally on those same steps that we had that rally yesterday. You know, and if we do, then it's going to be a sad day, because there's going to be blood running out of that building. But at the end of the day, you mark my word, we will plant our flag on the desk of Nancy Pelosi and Chuck Schumer and Donald J. Trump, if it boils down to it."

Couy Griffin, a Republican county commissioner from New Mexico and organizer of the group Cowboys for Trump, said a future Capitol rally could have "blood running out of that building." CreditCredit . . . Cowboys for Trump via YouTube. "At the end of the day, you mark my word, we will plant our flag on

the desk of Nancy Pelosi and Chuck Schumer," he said. He paused before adding, "And Donald J. Trump if it boils down to it."

Plans take shape online: "Pack a crowbar." The advance publicity for the "March for America" had been robust. Beyond the repeated promotions in tweets by the president and his allies, the upcoming event was cheered on social media, including Twitter, Facebook and Instagram.

But woven through many of the messages to stand up for Mr. Trump—and, if possible, block the congressional certification of the election he claimed he had won—was language that flirted with aggression, even violence.

For example, the term "Storm the Capitol" was mentioned 100,000 times in the 30 days preceding Jan. 6, according to Zignal Labs, a media insights company. Many of these mentions appeared in viral tweet threads that discussed the possible storming of the Capitol and included details on how to enter the building.

To followers of QAnon, the convoluted collection of conspiracy theories that falsely claims the country is dominated by deep-state bureaucrats and Democrats who worship Satan, the word "storm" had particular resonance. Adherents have often referred to a coming storm, after which Mr. Trump would preside over a new government order.

In online discussions, some QAnon followers and militia groups explored which weapons and tools to bring. "Pack a crowbar," read one message posted on Gab, a social media refuge for the far right. In another discussion, someone asked, "Does anyone know if the windows on the second floor are reinforced?"

Still, the many waves of communication did not appear to result in a broadly organized plan to take action. It is also unclear if any big money or coordinated fund-raising was behind the mobilization, though some Trump supporters appear to have found funds through opaque online networks to help pay for transportation to the rally.

"Patriots, if you need financial help getting to DC to support President Trump on January 6th, please go to my website," a QAnon adherent who identified himself as Thad Williams, of Tampa, Fla., posted on Twitter three days before the event. He said he had raised more than \$27,000. (After the Capitol assault, the money transfer companies PayPal and Stripe shut down his accounts. Mr. Williams did not return a phone message, but the website for his organization, Joy In Liberty, said it had given out \$30,000 to fund transportation for "deserving patriots.")

Other rally goers set up fund-raising accounts through the online service GoFundMe; Buzzfeed News cited at least a dozen, and GoFundMe has since closed them.

One of the most conspicuous figures in the Capitol assault—a bare-chested man with a painted face, flag-draped spear and fur hat with horns—was linked to the online fund-raising. A familiar presence at pro-Trump rallies in Phoenix, Jacob Anthony Chansley, a 33-year-old voiceover actor, is known as the Q Shaman. He started a GoFundMe account in December to help pay for transportation to another Trump demonstration in Washington, but the effort reportedly netted him just \$10. Mr. Chansley retweeted Mr. Williams's funding offer on Jan. 3, but it is unclear whether he benefited from it.

On Tuesday, the eve of the march, a couple thousand people gathered at Freedom Plaza in Washington for "The Rally to Save America" event, permitted as "The Rally to Revival." The disparate interests of those attending were reflected by the speakers: well-known evangelists, alt-right celebrities (Alex Jones of Infowars) and Trump loyalists, including his former national security

adviser Michael Flynn and the self-described Republican dirty trickster Roger Stone, both of whom he had pardoned.

The speakers repeatedly encouraged the attendees to see themselves as foot soldiers fighting to save the country. Americans, Mr. Flynn said, were ready to “bleed” for freedom.

“The members of the House of Representatives, the members of the United States Senate, those of you who are feeling weak tonight, those of you that don’t have the moral fiber in your body, get some tonight,” he said. “Because tomorrow, we the people are going to be here and we want you to know we will not stand for a lie.”

Inside the Capitol descends into chaos. It was President Trump’s turn. At about noon on Wednesday, he emerged from a viewing party in a tent, strode onto a stage set up in a park just south of the White House and, for more than an hour, delivered a stream of inflammatory words.

He exhorted the crowd of more than 8,000 to march to the Capitol to pressure lawmakers: “Because you’ll never take back our country with weakness. You have to show strength and you have to be strong.”

Even before he had finished speaking, people started moving east toward the Capitol. The crowd included supporters who had come by caravan from across the country, Trump flags rippling in the wind, as well as people so moved by the president’s appeal for support that they had jumped into their cars and driven for hours.

They traveled from various corners of resentment in 21st-century America. Whether motivated by a sense of economic disenfranchisement or distrust of government, by bigotry, or conspiracy or a belief that Mr. Trump is God’s way of preparing for the Rapture, they shared a fealty to the president.

Now the moment had come, a moment that twinned the thrilling with the ominous.

“I’m happy, sad, afraid, excited,” said Scott Cyganiewicz, 56, a floor installer from Gardner, Mass., as he watched the throngs of Trump loyalists streaming through the streets. “It’s an emotional roller coaster.”

American flags and Trump paraphernalia mingled in the crowd. Credit . . . Pete Marovich for The New York Times. Mr. Cyganiewicz said he was on his way out of town. He did not want to be around if violence broke out. Only a portion of the broader crowd continued onto the Capitol grounds.

Soon word spread that Vice President Mike Pence—who would oversee the pro forma count by Congress of the electoral votes for certification—had announced he would not be complicit in the president’s efforts to overturn the election.

“You can imagine the emotion that ran through people when we get that word,” said Mr. Griffin, the county commissioner from New Mexico, in a video he posted on social media. “And then we get down to the Capitol and they have all the inauguration set up for Joe Biden.”

He added, “What do you think was going to happen?”

Many in the crowd spoke portentously of violence—or even of another Civil War. A man named Jeff, who said he was an off-duty police officer from York County, Pa., said he didn’t know what would happen after he and his wife Amy reached the Capitol. But he felt ready to participate if something were to erupt.

“There’s a lot of people here willing to take orders,” he said. “If the orders are given, the people will rise up.”

By the time the bulk of the crowd reached the building, its leading edge had metastasized into an angry mob. A man barked into a megaphone: “Keep moving forward! Fight for Trump, fight for Trump!”

“Military Tribunals! Hang them!” shouted someone wearing a cowboy hat.

Arrest Congress!” screamed a woman in a flag scarf.

People surged past a few Capitol Police officers to bang on the windows and doors. Many eyewitness accounts and videos have since emerged that convey the pandemonium as hundreds of people overwhelmed the inadequate law-enforcement presence. In several instances of role reversal, for example, rioters are seen firing what appeared to be pepper spray at police officers trying to prevent mobs from getting closer to the Capitol Building.

After a few minutes, the crowd broke through and began streaming into an empty office. Glass shards crunched under people’s feet, as the scene descended into chaos.

Some stood in awe, while others took action. As one group prepared to break through an entryway, a Trump supporter raised a wine bottle and shouted, “Whose way?” To which the crowd responded, “Our way!”

Confusion reigned. “Hey what’s the Senate side?” said a tall man in camouflage and sunglasses.

“Where’s the Senate? Can somebody Google it?”

All the while, members of The Oath Keepers, a self-proclaimed citizens’ militia, seemed to be standing guard—or the transgressors. They wore olive-drab shirts, helmets and patches on their upper-left sleeves that said, “Guardians of the Republic” and “Not on Our Watch.”

American flags flapped beside “Trump 2020” flags, and people wearing “Make America Great Again” regalia moved beside people wearing anti-Semitic slogans. Chants of “Hell No, Never Joe” and “Stop the Steal” broke out, as did strains of “God Bless America” and “The Star-Spangled Banner.”

Derrick Evans of West Virginia, who just two months before had been elected as a Republican state delegate, wandered the halls of the Capitol Building, filming himself and joining in the occasional chant. At one point he shouted, “Derrick Evans is in the Capitol!”

Outside the building, Mr. Griffin, who was once photographed wearing a 10-gallon hat and sitting across from President Trump in the Oval Office, was now gleefully addressing the camera from atop one of the crowded terraces, declaring it “a great day for America.” Asserting that “we came peacefully,” he was interrupted by a man wearing a jacket with a hand-grenade logo, who said, “Believe me, we are well armed if we need to be.”

Amid the cheers and whoops of excitement were questions of what to do next. Some can be heard hunting for specific members of congress, including House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, whose office was broken into by several people. She and other lawmakers were hiding for fear of their safety.

One image showed a trim man moving through the Senate chamber in full paramilitary regalia: camouflage uniform, Kevlar vest, a mask and baseball cap obscuring his face. He carried a stack of flex cuff—the plastic restraints used by police. The image raised a question yet to be answered: Why carry restraints if not to use them?

Several rioters wielded fire extinguishers. One stood on a balcony on the Capitol building’s west side, spraying down on police officers trying to fend off the crowd. Others carried them into the building itself, one into Statuary Hall and another onto the steps outside the Senate Chamber, spraying in the direction of journalists and police officers.

Our president wants us here,” a man can be heard saying during a livestream video that showed him standing within the Capitol building. “We wait and take orders from our president.”

Despite his followers’ hopes and expectations, President Trump was missing in action as rioters rampaged through the halls of Congress. It would be hours before he eventually surfaced in a somewhat subdued videotaped appeal for them to leave.

“We have to have peace,” he said. “So go home, we love you, you’re very special.”

Some of Mr. Trump’s supporters expressed frustration, even disbelief, that the president seemed to have given up after they had put themselves on the line for him.

Mr. Haag, the retired landscaper, was among the disappointed. Still, he said, the movement will continue even without Mr. Trump.

We are representing the 74 million people who got disenfranchised,” he said. “We are still out here. We are a force to be reckoned with. We are not going away.”

One man wandered away from the Capitol in the evening gloom, yelling angrily through a megaphone that Mr. Pence was a coward and, now, Mr. Trump had told everyone “to just go home.”

Well, he can go home to his Mar-a-Lago estate,” the man shouted, adding, “We gotta go back to our businesses that are closed!”

As some rioters face fallout, others mull a repeat. In the aftermath of what Mitch McConnell, the Senate majority leader, called a “failed insurrection,” scores of those who responded to the incendiary words of the president now face a reckoning.

A chief target of investigators will be whoever struck Brian Sicknick of the Capitol Police with a fire extinguisher; the 42-year-old officer died Thursday after being injured in the riot. At the same time, authorities are investigating the fatal police shooting of Ashli Babbitt, 35, an Air Force veteran who had joined those breaching the Capitol.

Among those charged so far with federal crimes are Mr. Chansley, the so-called Q Shaman; Mr. Evans, the West Virginia lawmaker—who resigned on Saturday; and Richard Barnett, an Arkansas man who was depicted in a widely circulated photograph sitting with his foot on a desk in Ms. Pelosi’s office.

Meanwhile, Mr. Griffin, the commissioner from New Mexico who runs Cowboys for Trump, saw his group’s Twitter account suspended and calls for his resignation.

The anger, resentment and conspiracy-laced distrust that led to Wednesday’s mayhem did not dissipate with Thursday’s dawn. Along with the smashed furniture in the Capitol Building, there were smashed expectations of a continued Trump presidency, of lawmakers held to account, of holy prophecies fulfilled.

Signs of potential violence have already surfaced. Twitter, which terminated Mr. Trump’s account on Friday, noted that “plans for future armed protests have already begun proliferating” online, including “a proposed secondary attack on the U.S. Capitol and state capitol buildings on January 17.”

The urge for more civil unrest is being discussed in the usual squalid corners of the internet. Private chat groups on Gab and Parler are peppered with talk of a possible “Million Militia March” on Jan. 20 that would disrupt the presidential inauguration of Mr. Biden.

There is chatter about ride shares, where to find lodging in the Washington area—and what to bring. Baseball bats, perhaps, or assault rifles.

“We took the building once,” one commenter posted, “we can take it again.”

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. CORREA).

Mr. CORREA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, last week, Congress was under siege by a mob motivated and directed by the President of the United States. Our Vice President was a target of that mob. Members of Congress, both Democrats and Republicans, were targets of this mob. And I witnessed, for the first time in my life, Americans fighting Americans, all at the behest of our own President of the United States. As Americans, we can do better.

I will vote for impeachment today for our Nation, for our children, and for our grandchildren. I will be voting for impeachment so that America will once again be the shining city upon the hill whose beacon light guides freedom-loving people everywhere.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to join me and vote for impeachment.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman how many more speakers he may have?

Mr. COLE. Whenever the gentleman is prepared to close, we will close. We were hopeful that one of our speakers would arrive, but they are having a difficult time getting here.

Mr. MCGOVERN. We have exhausted all of our speakers.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I thank you for presiding over these difficult proceedings today. I thank my good friend, the distinguished chairman of the Rules Committee. And I thank everybody who came to the floor and had something to say at an important moment.

I think the debate, while spirited, reflected the civility and decency of the institution that we are all privileged to be part of. I am very proud to have been part of it. I am very proud of all the Members and the manner in which they participated.

I want, again, to thank the staff and thank those who kept us safe in the process, particularly the Capitol Police.

Mr. Speaker, I oppose this rule, and I oppose the majority's actions today. After the traumatic events of last week, the majority should be taking steps to unite us. Instead, they are only dividing us further.

They are rushing to judgment, in my opinion, and bringing up impeachment after failing to follow any meaningful process whatsoever. No hearings have been held, no witnesses heard, no process or opportunity to respond was provided to the President. No Members had an opportunity to review or amend this article before it came to the floor. This is hardly the way the House should undertake such a serious act.

□ 1030

Mr. Speaker, there is still a way to unite the country. Let us look forward, not backward. Let us come together, not apart. Let us celebrate the peaceful transition of power to a new President rather than impeaching an old President. And let us affirm and reaffirm with one united voice that the House

does not rush to judgment on the most consequential action we can take. Mr. Speaker, we deserve better than that and the American people deserve better than that.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues, as they reflect on this minute and we move into our next stage of debate, to remember that we are all privileged to represent a great and a good people. We have gone through a horrifying and tragic time, and we owe them the opportunity to reflect and we owe them our best efforts to bring everyone together.

I know people on this floor feel very passionately about this subject with different points of view. I honor each one of those points of view and I honor the people that voice them. Let's remember when we are through this that we are one people and that we have one purpose, that we are free through the grace of God and millions of brave Americans over centuries of time and we will remain that way, and we will move forward together once we settle this debate.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote "no" on the previous question, "no" on the rule, "no" on the underlying measure, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

I thank my friend, the ranking member of the Rules Committee, Mr. COLE, for his friendship and for the way he conducts himself in this Chamber. I know he has great respect for this institution.

Mr. Speaker, it is impossible for me to fully capture the reverence that I have for the United States Capitol. I worked on these grounds starting back when I was a college intern working for Senator George McGovern back in 1977. No relation. Great last name.

Since that time, I have done everything from working as a staffer for Congressman Joe Moakley of Massachusetts to being elected to the United States House of Representatives myself.

But that internship will always be a high point of my life: Coming here for the first time, walking these hallowed Halls, and seeing the glory of American democracy up close.

The idea that someone would incite an out-of-control mob of homegrown fascists and domestic terrorists to desecrate the people's House fills me with a deep sadness for our country. The contempt that these people had for our democracy and our freedom fills me with horror.

What Donald Trump did, encouraging them, fills me with rage not just on behalf of all of those serving here, but all of those who work in these Halls. And I am talking about the reporters, the cafeteria workers, the custodians, the Clerks, the Parliamentarians—I can go on and on and on—and the staff, the Democratic staff, the Republican staff, the nonpartisan support staff, who were terrorized, some hiding under

their desks and barricading in their offices.

I was in the Speaker's chair the day this unfolded, and many of the people who are sitting up there now were present at that time. What a horrifying thing for anybody to have to experience.

Now, some of my Republican friends have been trying to lecture us about unity here today after they voted to overturn a free and fair election of the United States of America, but also preaching unity and not acknowledging that, for 4 years, many of them gave oxygen to Donald Trump's conspiracy theories, to the big lies. They have turned the other way in the face of racism and bigotry and how he embraced some of the most intolerant voices in this country. They just let it go.

I will remind everybody here that words have consequences, and ignoring words that are wrong also have consequences. What happened would never have happened if everybody stood up in unity and called out the President when he was not telling the American people the truth, when he was pushing a big lie. We will never have unity without truth and also without accountability.

This week in Congress, we saw the best of us and the worst of us. Some of my colleagues have shown that they will defend this President no matter what he does. There is nothing that he could do that would dissuade them from all-out support. But some are standing up and doing the right thing under tremendous pressure, and I am proud of that and I honor them for their courage.

This impeachment resolution outlines the truth of what Trump did. It is time that this Congress now holds him accountable for his words and for their devastating impact.

Last week, we took an oath to protect this Nation. As history calls on us today, I pray that we all have the moral clarity to uphold it here today.

The material previously referred to by Mr. COLE is as follows:

AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 41

At the end of the resolution, add the following:

SEC. 5. Immediately upon adoption of this resolution, the House shall proceed to the consideration in the House of the bill (H.R. 275) to establish the National Commission on the Domestic Terrorist Attack Upon the United States Capitol. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. The bill shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and on any amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Homeland Security; and (2) one motion to recommit.

SEC. 6. Clause 1(c) of rule XIX shall not apply to the consideration of H.R. 275.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on ordering the previous question.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 221, nays 205, not voting 6, as follows:

[Roll No. 15]

YEAS—221

Adams	Gonzalez,	Ocasio-Cortez
Aguilar	Vicente	Omar
Allred	Gottheimer	Pallone
Auchincloss	Green, Al (TX)	Panetta
Axne	Grijalva	Pappas
Barragán	Haaland	Pascarell
Bass	Harder (CA)	Payne
Beatty	Hastings	Perlmutter
Bera	Hayes	Peters
Beyer	Higgins (NY)	Phillips
Bishop (GA)	Himes	Pingree
Blumenauer	Horsford	Pocan
Blunt Rochester	Houlihan	Porter
Bonamici	Hoyer	Pressley
Bourdeaux	Huffman	Price (NC)
Bowman	Jackson Lee	Quigley
Boyle, Brendan	Jacobs (CA)	Raskin
F.	Jayapal	Rice (NY)
Brown	Jeffries	Richmond
Brownley	Johnson (GA)	Ross
Bush	Johnson (TX)	Roybal-Allard
Bustos	Jones	Ruiz
Butterfield	Kahele	Ruppersberger
Carbajal	Kaptur	Rush
Cárdenas	Keating	Ryan
Carson	Kelly (IL)	Sánchez
Cartwright	Khanna	Sarbanes
Case	Kildee	Scanlon
Casten	Kilmer	Schakowsky
Castor (FL)	Kim (NJ)	Schiff
Castro (TX)	Kind	Schneider
Chu	Kirkpatrick	Schrader
Ciilline	Krishnamoorthi	Schrier
Clark (MA)	Kuster	Scott (VA)
Clarke (NY)	Lamb	Scott, David
Cleaver	Langevin	Sewell
Clyburn	Larsen (WA)	Sherman
Cohen	Larson (CT)	Sherrill
Connolly	Lawrence	Sires
Cooper	Lawson (FL)	Slotkin
Correa	Lee (CA)	Smith (WA)
Costa	Lee (NV)	Soto
Courtney	Leger Fernandez	Spanberger
Craig	Levin (CA)	Speier
Crist	Levin (MI)	Stanton
Crow	Lieu	Stevens
Cuellar	Lofgren	Strickland
Davids (KS)	Lowenthal	Suozi
Davis, Danny K.	Luria	Swaiwell
Dean	Lynch	Takano
DeFazio	Malinowski	Thompson (CA)
DeGette	Maloney,	Thompson (MS)
DeLauro	Carolyn B.	Titus
DelBene	Maloney, Sean	Tlaib
Delgado	Manning	Tonko
Demings	Matsui	Torres (CA)
DeSaulnier	McBath	Torres (NY)
Deutch	McCollum	Trahan
Dingell	McEachin	Trone
Doggett	McGovern	Underwood
Doyle, Michael	McNerney	Vargas
F.	Meeks	Veasey
Escobar	Meng	Vela
Eshoo	Mfume	Velázquez
Espallat	Moore (WI)	Wasserman
Evans	Morelle	Schultz
Fletcher	Moulton	Waters
Foster	Mrvan	Watson Coleman
Frankel, Lois	Murphy (FL)	Welch
Fudge	Nadler	Wexton
Gallo	Napolitano	Wild
Garamendi	Neal	Williams (GA)
Garcia (IL)	Neguse	Wilson (FL)
Garcia (TX)	Newman	Yarmuth
Golden	Norcross	
Gomez	O'Halleran	

NAYS—205

Aderholt	Gohmert	Moolenaar
Allen	Gonzales, Tony	Mooney
Amodei	Gonzalez (OH)	Moore (AL)
Armstrong	Good (VA)	Moore (UT)
Arrington	Gooden (TX)	Mullin
Babin	Gosar	Nehls
Bacon	Graves (LA)	Newhouse
Baird	Graves (MO)	Norman
Balderson	Green (TN)	Nunes
Banks	Greene (GA)	Obenolte
Barr	Griffith	Owens
Bentz	Grothman	Palazzo
Bergman	Guest	Palmer
Bice (OK)	Guthrie	Pence
Biggs	Hagedorn	Perry
Bilirakis	Harshbarger	Pfleger
Bishop (NC)	Hartzler	Posey
Boebert	Hern	Reed
Bost	Herrell	Reschenthaler
Brady	Herrera Beutler	Rice (SC)
Brooks	Hice (GA)	Rodgers (WA)
Buchanan	Higgins (LA)	Rogers (AL)
Buck	Hill	Rogers (KY)
Bucshon	Hinson	Rose
Budd	Hollingsworth	Rosendale
Burchett	Hudson	Rouzer
Burgess	Huizenga	Roy
Calvert	Issa	Rutherford
Cammack	Jackson	Salazar
Carl	Jacobs (NY)	Scalise
Carter (GA)	Johnson (LA)	Schweikert
Carter (TX)	Johnson (OH)	Scott, Austin
Cawthorn	Johnson (SD)	Sessions
Chabot	Jordan	Simpson
Cheney	Joyce (OH)	Smith (MO)
Cline	Joyce (PA)	Smith (NE)
Cloud	Katko	Smith (NJ)
Clyde	Keller	Smucker
Cole	Kelly (MS)	Spartz
Comer	Kelly (PA)	Staubert
Crawford	Kim (CA)	Stefanik
Curtis	Kinzing	Stell
Davidson	Kustoff	Steube
Davis, Rodney	LaHood	Stewart
DeJarlais	LaMalfa	Stivers
Diaz-Balart	Lamborn	Taylor
Donalds	Latta	Thompson (PA)
Duncan	LaTurner	Tiffany
Dunn	Lesko	Timmons
Emmer	Long	Turner
Estes	Loudermilk	Upton
Fallon	Lucas	Valadao
Feenstra	Luetkemeyer	Van Drew
Ferguson	Mace	Van Dwyne
Fischbach	Malliotakis	Wagner
Fitzgerald	Mann	Walberg
Fitzpatrick	Massie	Walorski
Fleischmann	Mast	Waltz
Fortenberry	McCarthy	Weber (TX)
Fox	McCauley	Wenstrup
Franklin, C.	McClain	Westerman
Scott	McClintock	Williams (TX)
Fulcher	McHenry	Wilson (SC)
Gaetz	McKinley	Wittman
Gallagher	Meijer	Womack
Garbarino	Meuser	Wright
Garcia (CA)	Miller (IL)	Young
Gibbs	Miller (WV)	Zeldin
Gimenez	Miller-Meeks	

NOT VOTING—6

□ 1129

So the previous question was ordered.
The result of the vote was announced
as above recorded.

MEMBERS RECORDED PURSUANT TO HOUSE
RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

Adams (Brown)	Cárdenas	Fleischmann
Axne (Stevens)	(Gallo)	(Kustoff)
Baird (Bucshon)	Carson	Fletcher (Allred)
Bergman	(Underwood)	Frankel, Lois
(Walberg)	Costa (Correa)	(Clark (MA))
Bilirakis	DeSaulnier	Hastings
(Fortenberry)	(Matsui)	(Wasserman)
Blumenauer	DesJarlais	Schultz
(Beyer)	(Kustoff)	Jayapal (Raskin)
Bonamici (Clark	Deutch (Rice	Johnson (TX)
(MA))	(NY))	(Jeffries)
Boyle, Brendan	Dingell (Stevens)	Kaptur (Stevens)
F. (Jeffries)	Doyle, Michael	Kirkpatrick
Buchanan	F. (Cartwright)	(Gallo)
(Cammack)	Dunn (Cammack)	Kuster (Pingree)

Lamborn	Ocasio-Cortez	Strickland
(Walberg)	(Tlaib)	(Kilmer)
LaTurner (Mann)	Pascarell	Titus (Connolly)
Lawson (FL)	(Pallone)	Tonko (Pallone)
(Evans)	Payne	Trone (Beyer)
Lee (NV)	(Wasserman	Vela (Gomez)
(Stevens)	Schultz)	Walorski (Banks)
Lieu (Beyer)	Peters (Beyer)	Watson Coleman
Lowenthal	Porter (Wexton)	(Pallone)
(Beyer)	Pressley (Garcia	Wilson (FL)
McEachin	(IL))	(Hayes)
(Wexton)	Schneider	Young
McNerney	(Sherrill)	(Malliotakis)
(Huffman)	Sires (Pallone)	
Napolitano	Smith (WA)	
(Correa)	(Courtney)	

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. CLARKE of New York). The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. COLE. Madam Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 221, nays 203, not voting 8, as follows:

[Roll No. 16]

YEAS—221

Adams	Escobar	Luria
Aguilar	Eshoo	Lynch
Allred	Espallat	Malinowski
Auchincloss	Evans	Maloney,
Axne	Fletcher	Carolyn B.
Barragán	Foster	Maloney, Sean
Bass	Frankel, Lois	Manning
Beatty	Fudge	Matsui
Bera	Gallo	McBath
Beyer	Garamendi	McCollum
Bishop (GA)	Garcia (IL)	McEachin
Blumenauer	Garcia (TX)	McGovern
Blunt Rochester	Golden	McNerney
Bonamici	Gomez	Meeks
Bourdeaux	Gonzalez,	Meng
Bowman	Vicente	Mfume
Boyle, Brendan	Gottheimer	Moore (WI)
F.	Green, Al (TX)	Morelle
Brown	Grijalva	Moulton
Brownley	Haaland	Mrvan
Bush	Harder (CA)	Murphy (FL)
Bustos	Hastings	Nadler
Butterfield	Hayes	Napolitano
Carbajal	Higgins (NY)	Neal
Cárdenas	Himes	Neguse
Carson	Horsford	Newman
Cartwright	Houlihan	Norcross
Case	Hoyer	O'Halleran
Casten	Huffman	Ocasio-Cortez
Castor (FL)	Jackson Lee	Omar
Castro (TX)	Jacobs (CA)	Pallone
Chu	Jayapal	Panetta
Ciilline	Jeffries	Pappas
Clark (MA)	Johnson (GA)	Pascarell
Clarke (NY)	Johnson (TX)	Payne
Cleaver	Jones	Perlmutter
Clyburn	Kahele	Peters
Cohen	Kaptur	Phillips
Connolly	Keating	Pingree
Cooper	Kelly (IL)	Pocan
Correa	Khanna	Porter
Costa	Kildee	Pressley
Courtney	Kilmer	Price (NC)
Craig	Kim (NJ)	Quigley
Crist	Kind	Raskin
Crow	Kirkpatrick	Rice (NY)
Cuellar	Krishnamoorthi	Richmond
Davids (KS)	Kuster	Ross
Davis, Danny K.	Lamb	Roybal-Allard
Dean	Langevin	Ruiz
DeFazio	Larsen (WA)	Ruppersberger
DeGette	Larson (CT)	Rush
DeLauro	Lawrence	Ryan
DelBene	Lawson (FL)	Sánchez
Delgado	Lee (CA)	Sarbanes
Demings	Lee (NV)	Scanlon
DeSaulnier	Leger Fernandez	Schakowsky
Deutch	Levin (CA)	Schiff
Dingell	Levin (MI)	Schneider
Doggett	Lieu	Schrader
Doyle, Michael	Lofgren	Schrier
F.	Lowenthal	Scott (VA)

Scott, David
Sewell
Sherman
Sherrill
Sires
Slotkin
Smith (WA)
Soto
Spanberger
Speier
Stanton
Stevens
Strickland
Suozy

NAYS—203

Aderholt
Allen
Amodei
Armstrong
Arrington
Babin
Bacon
Baird
Balderson
Banks
Barr
Bentz
Bergman
Bice (OK)
Biggs
Bilirakis
Bishop (NC)
Boebert
Bost
Brady
Brooks
Buchanan
Buck
Bucshon
Budd
Burchett
Burgess
Calvert
Cammack
Carl
Carter (GA)
Carter (TX)
Cawthorn
Chabot
Cheney
Cline
Cloud
Clyde
Cole
Comer
Crawford
Curtis
Davidson
DesJarlais
Diaz-Balart
Donalds
Duncan
Dunn
Emmer
Estes
Fallon
Feenstra
Ferguson
Fischbach
Fitzgerald
Fitzpatrick
Fleischmann
Fortenberry
Foxy
Franklin, C.
Scott
Fulcher
Gaetz
Gallagher
Garbarino
Garcia (CA)
Gibbs
Gimenez

NOT VOTING—8

Crenshaw
Davis, Rodney
Granger

□ 1221

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Swallow
Takano
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Titus
Tlaib
Tonko
Torres (CA)
Torres (NY)
Trahan
Trone
Underwood
Vargas
Veasey

Gohmert
Gonzales, Tony
Gonzalez (OH)
Good (VA)
Gooden (TX)
Gosar
Graves (LA)
Graves (MO)
Green (TN)
Griffith
Grothman
Guest
Guthrie
Hagedorn
Harshbarger
Hartzler
Hern
Herrell
Herrera Beutler
Hice (GA)
Higgins (LA)
Hill
Hinson
Hollingsworth
Hudson
Huizenga
Issa
Jackson
Jacobs (NY)
Johnson (LA)
Johnson (OH)
Johnson (SD)
Jordan
Joyce (OH)
Joyce (PA)
Katko
Keller
Kelly (MS)
Kelly (PA)
Kim (CA)
Kinzinger
Kustoff
LaHood
LaMalfa
Lamborn
Latta
LaTurner
Lesko
Long
Loudermilk
Lucas
Luetkemeyer
Mace
Malliotakis
Mann
Massie
Mast
McCarthy
McCaul
McClain
McClintock
McHenry
McKinley
Meijer
Meuser
Miller (IL)
Miller (WV)
Miller-Meeks

Steel
Webster (FL)
Murphy (NC)

MEMBERS RECORDED PURSUANT TO HOUSE
RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

Adams (Brown)
Axne (Stevens)
Baird (Bucshon)
Bergman
(Walberg)
Bilirakis
(Fortenberry)
Blumenauer
(Beyer)
Bonamici (Clark
(MA))
Boyle, Brendan
F. (Jeffries)
Buchanan
(Cammack)
Cárdenas
(Gallego)
Carson
(Underwood)
Costa (Correa)
DeSaulnier
(Matsui)
DesJarlais
(Kustoff)
Deutch (Rice
(NY))
Dingell (Stevens)
Doyle, Michael
F. (Cartwright)
Dunn (Cammack)

IMPEACHING DONALD JOHN
TRUMP, PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES, FOR HIGH
CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 41, I call up the resolution (H. Res. 24) impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 24

Resolved, That Donald John Trump, President of the United States, is impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors and that the following article of impeachment be exhibited to the United States Senate:

Article of impeachment exhibited by the House of Representatives of the United States of America in the name of itself and of the people of the United States of America, against Donald John Trump, President of the United States of America, in maintenance and support of its impeachment against him for high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE I: INCITEMENT OF INSURRECTION

The Constitution provides that the House of Representatives “shall have the sole Power of Impeachment” and that the President “shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors”. Further, section 3 of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution prohibits any person who has “engaged in insurrection or rebellion against” the United States from “hold[ing] any office . . . under the United States”. In his conduct while President of the United States—and in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed—Donald John Trump engaged in high Crimes and Misdemeanors by inciting violence against the Government of the United States, in that:

On January 6, 2021, pursuant to the 12th Amendment to the Constitution of the

United States, the Vice President of the United States, the House of Representatives, and the Senate met at the United States Capitol for a Joint Session of Congress to count the votes of the Electoral College. In the months preceding the Joint Session, President Trump repeatedly issued false statements asserting that the Presidential election results were the product of widespread fraud and should not be accepted by the American people or certified by State or Federal officials. Shortly before the Joint Session commenced, President Trump, addressed a crowd at the Ellipse in Washington, DC. There, he reiterated false claims that “we won this election, and we won it by a landslide”. He also willfully made statements that, in context, encouraged—and foreseeably resulted in—lawless action at the Capitol, such as: “if you don’t fight like hell you’re not going to have a country anymore”. Thus incited by President Trump, members of the crowd he had addressed, in an attempt to, among other objectives, interfere with the Joint Session’s solemn constitutional duty to certify the results of the 2020 Presidential election, unlawfully breached and vandalized the Capitol, injured and killed law enforcement personnel, menaced Members of Congress, the Vice President, and Congressional personnel, and engaged in other violent, deadly, destructive, and seditious acts.

President Trump’s conduct on January 6, 2021, followed his prior efforts to subvert and obstruct the certification of the results of the 2020 Presidential election. Those prior efforts included a phone call on January 2, 2021, during which President Trump urged the secretary of state of Georgia, Brad Raffensperger, to “find” enough votes to overturn the Georgia Presidential election results and threatened Secretary Raffensperger if he failed to do so.

In all this, President Trump gravely endangered the security of the United States and its institutions of Government. He threatened the integrity of the democratic system, interfered with the peaceful transition of power, and imperiled a coequal branch of Government. He thereby betrayed his trust as President, to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

Wherefore, Donald John Trump, by such conduct, has demonstrated that he will remain a threat to national security, democracy, and the Constitution if allowed to remain in office, and has acted in a manner grossly incompatible with self-governance and the rule of law. Donald John Trump thus warrants impeachment and trial, removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. MCCOLLUM). The resolution shall be debatable for 2 hours, equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

The gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER) and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. JORDAN) each will control 1 hour.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York.

□ 1230

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and insert extraneous material on H. Res. 24.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?